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DISCOVERY

OF THE

EXACT SITE OF ASOKA'S CLASSIC CAPITAL

OF

PĀṬALIPUTRA,

THE PALIBOTHRA OF THE GREEKS

AND

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUPERFICIAL REMAINS.

BY

L. A. WADDELL, M.B.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BENGAL SECRETARIAT PRESS.
1892.

DISCOVERY OF THE EXACT SITE OF AŚOKA'S CLASSIC CAPITAL OF PĀṬALIPUTRA, THE *PALIBOTHRA* OF THE GREEKS,

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Its exact site not hitherto found.

THE site of the great Emperor Aśoka's famous capital, Pāṭaliputra—the παλίβόθρα of the Greeks—is generally believed to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Patna City, the modern capital of the Province of Bihār; but no conclusive evidence of its exact position has hitherto been found. Mr. Beglar and most of the other authorities on the archæology of Gangetic India believe that the site was wholly swept away by the Ganges many centuries ago;[1] while Sir A. Cunningham, perverting[2] the texts of the Chinese pilgrims, to whom we owe the detailed descriptions, thrusts Aśoka's palaces and all the city monuments and monasteries on to the narrow mound of *Chhoti Pahāri*, an area of scarcely 200 yards in length by 80 yards across, although, as he himself admits, he found no remains and his "numerous excavations" yielded nothing but broken bricks.

My discovery of site and remains.

Having lately had an opportunity of visiting Patna, I explored its neighbourhood, and was surprised to find that not only has the site of Pāṭaliputra remained practically unencroached on by the Ganges, but that all the chief landmarks of Aśoka's palaces, monasteries and monuments

[1] *Arch. Surv. India Repts.* VIII. p. 24, Calcutta, 1878. *Vide* also RAVENSHAW in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* XIV. p. 137.

[2] Amongst other liberties taken with the pilgrims' texts, he shifts Mahendra's hill to the south of the other sites, although it was explicitly stated to lie to the extreme north; and detaching *stupas* from the south he grafts them on to another site some miles off. Vide *Arch. Surv. India Repts.* XI. p. 160, Calcutta, 1880.

remained so patent that in the short space of one day I was able to identify most of them by taking Hiuen Tsiang's account as my guide.

Location of Pāṭaliputra.

A reference to the larger scaled maps and an inspection of the neighbouring country clearly shows, as Rennell first pointed out,[1] and Buchanan-Hamilton[2] and, latterly, Mr. Beglar[3] and others confirmed, that the Son river, or one of its main branches, formerly joined the Ganges immediately below the modern city of Patna. The old channel is called the *Mar-Son* or 'Dead Son,' and the tradition of this junction still lingers amongst the villagers to the south-west of Patna.

In this neck of land, lying between the old Son and the Ganges at their junction, was situated Pāṭaliputra. This is in keeping with the Greek accounts, based on the journals of Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Alexander's successor, Seleukos Nikator, *circa* B.C. 312, which describe the city as being situated on the south bank of the Ganges at the confluence of another large river, the Erranoboas.[4] And Sir A. Cunningham quotes[5] Patanjali to show that this river was the Son—"*anu Sonam Pāṭaliputra*," "Pāṭaliputra upon the Son,"—Sir W. Jones having long ago noted[6] that *Hiranyabaha*, or 'The Golden Armed,' was an ancient name of the Son, and evidently the name intended by the Greek 'Erranoboas.' The Gandak also, and the Ghagra, on the north joined the Ganges hereabouts.

Greek accounts of the city.

The Greek accounts further state that the city was of elongated form, 80 stadia in length and 15 in breadth; and surrounded by a *wooden* wall, pierced by many towerd gateways and with numerous openings for the discharge of arrows, and in front a ditch for defence and as a city sewer. We know, however, from the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, FaHian and Hiuen Tsiang, that in Aśoka's reign, *circa* B.C. 250, the wooden walls were replaced or supplemented by masonry ramparts.

Decay and desertion of Pāṭaliputra.

But within five or six centuries from Aśoka's time, Pāṭaliputra ceased to be the capital of the Magadhan Kings, and soon decayed and was deserted. In FaHian's time Pāṭaliputra was still a seat of Buddhist learning. For the pilgrim resided there for "three years engaged in learning to read the Sanskrit books and to converse in that language, and in copying the precepts." [7] Hiuen Tsiang, however, about 635 A.D., found

[1] *Memoir of a Map of Hind*, p. 49, London, 1793.
[2] *East India* I. p. 11, London, 1838.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. V. 7 *et seq.*
[4] *Strabo*, FALCONER and HAMILTON'S Trans. II., and *Ancient India, &c.*, by J. W. McCRINDLE, London, 1877.
[5] *Arch. S. I. Repts.* XI. p. 154.
[6] *Asiatic Researches*, IV, 10, Calcutta, 1795.
[7] *Fo-kwo-ki*, XXXVI. And here in the Mahayana Monastery he obtained access to most rare scriptures which he had searched for in vain in Upper India.

the city and its buildings a mass of crumbling ruins and "long deserted;" and he notes "the *sangharāmas* (monasteries), Deva temples, and *stupas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (entire)."[1] And this state of desolation seems to have continued down to Sher Shah's time in 1541 A.D., as no mention is made of the place in the detailed accounts of the Muhammadan invaders; and at Sher Shah's visit, although still apparently retaining the name of Patana or "*the* city," it seems to have been an unimportant village, when he decided to make it his capital. "Sher Shah clearly foresaw that Patna would become a great town, and therefore he ordered a fort to be built *on the old site*. * * * * Bihār from that time was deserted and fell to ruin, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province,"[2] and since Akbar's time the largest.

The general nature of its remains.

The Buddhist relics of Pāṭaliputra, therefore, must be buried deeply in the debris of many centuries, and mainly represent the earlier form of Buddhism as it existed previous to the wholesale introduction of image worship. The remains also cover that most interesting period in architecture—the transition from wood to stone. And here it may be noted that the reference in the text of the Chinese pilgrims to Yakkha or genii as having erected many of Aśoka's buildings seems merely the popular way of accounting for a change in architectural materials, so sudden and on so grand a scale as to appear to the popular mind supernatural.[3]

Hiuen Tsiang's description of the ruins, *circa* 635 A.D.

Hiuen Tsiang's account of the ruins of Aśoka's capital, as they existed at the time of his visit, *circa* 635 A.D., is as follows.[4]

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[1] *Si-yu-ki*, BEAL's Trans. II. 86, London, 1884.

[2] *Tārikh-i Sher-Shahi*, ELLIOT's Trans. IV. 478, London, 1867.

[3] It is notable that Yakkha or genii-worship seems to have been prevalent hereabouts in semi-historic times in the transgangetic portion of Bihár, if not in Magadha itself. In the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon are found numerous references to 'Yakkha-Chetiyāna' tumuli as existing during the lifetime of Buddha. And in the Northern Buddhist scriptures it is stated (DE KÖRÖS' *Analysis* in *As. Res.* XX. p. 300) that the tribal god of the Sakyas to whom the infant Gautama—the incipient Buddha—was presented was a Yakkha of the good genii type named '*gnang-sbyin*' or 'The Bestower of Gifts.' And also in the same canon it is related (SCHIEFNER's *Tibetan Tales from the Kah-gyur*; RALSTON's trans., p. 81) in describing the exploits of King Bimbasāra, a contemporary of Buddha: "At that time one of the gate-keepers of Vaisāli had died and had been born again among the demons. He gave the inhabitants of Vaisāli the following instructions:—'As I have been born again among the demons, confer on me the position of a Yaksha and hang a bell round my neck. Whenever foe to the inhabitants of Vaisāli appears, I will make the bell sound until he is arrested or has taken his departure.' *So they caused a Yaksha statue to be prepared* and hung a bell round its neck. Then they set it up in the gate-house, provided with oblations and garlands along with dance and song and to the sound of musical instruments." The Yakkha or Yaksha are minor divinities of the genii order, and mostly good natured. Their chief is Vaisravan or the Hindu Kuvera, the guardian deity of the Northern quarter of the world, and he was early given a prominent place in the Buddhist pantheon.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 82 *et seq.*

I.—"To the south of the river Ganges (in Magadha) there is an old city about 70 li (=about 12 miles) round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive. Formerly when men's lives were incalculably long, it was called *Kusumpura*, so called because the palace of the King had many flowers. Afterwards when men's age reached several thousands of years, then its name was changed to *Pāṭaliputra* [and here H. Tsiang gives in detail the current legend as to why the city was called 'The Son of the Pāṭali tree' (*stereospermum suaveolens*) owing to the founder of the city having married the daughter of (a spirit-inhabiting) a pāṭali tree, or the flower of that tree].[1]

II.—"To the north of the old palace of the King is a stone pillar several tens of feet high: this is the place where Aśoka Rāja made 'a hell.' In the hundredth year after the *Nirvāna* of Tathāgatha there was a King called Aśoka (or the sorrowless), who was the great-grandson of Bimbasāra Rāja. He changed his capital from Rājagrīha to Pāṭali, and built an outside rampart to surround the old city. Since then many generations have passed, and there remain only the old foundation walls. The *sanghārāmas*, *deva* temples, and *stupas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining entire. To the north of the old palace and bordering on the Ganges river there is a little town, which contains about 1,000 houses. At first when Aśoka Rāja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny: he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. [Here follows the 'Hell' legend which is given at greater length by FaHian (Chapter XXXIII); and in both versions it is made the scene of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism, through seeing the miraculous preservation there of a *sramana* or Buddhist monk who had been cast into a fiery furnace.]

III.—"To the south of the earth prison (the hell) and not far off is a stupa. Its foundation walls are sunk, and it is in a leaning ruinous condition. There remains, however, the crowning jewel of the cupola. This is made of carved stone and has a surrounding balustrade. This was the first of the 84,000 (stupas). Aśoka Rāja erected it by the power of man in the middle of his royal precinct. It contains

[1] Another version of the legend is given in a paper by M. Hermann Brockhaus published at Leipsic in 1835, entitled '*Foundation of the town of Pāṭaliputra and history of Upasoka*,' in Sanskrit and German, which is summarized by Klaproth in his translation of FaHian's travels. According to this account, a person named *Putraka* finds in the Vindhaya mountains two sons disputing about their paternal heritage, which consisted of a vase, a staff and a pair of slippers, all possessing miraculous properties. By a stratagem Putraka becomes possessed of these three objects and flies away with them. These confer on him facilities for making love to the beautiful Pāṭali, and enable him to carry her off from the palace of her father. Having reached the bank of the Ganges, he there, in compliance with the request of his beloved one, and by the miraculous virtue of his staff, built a city which in honour of the princess he calls Pāṭaliputra. He becomes a powerful monarch, is reconciled to his father-in-law, and governs all the country as far as the sea. See also the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Mr. Tawney's translation, Calcutta, 1881.

a *ching* of relics of the Tathāgatha. Spiritual indications constantly manifest themselves, and a divine light is shed around it from time to time.

IV.—"By the side of the stupa and not far from it in a *vihara* is a great stone on which Tathāgatha walked. There is still the impression of both his feet on it, about 18 inches long and 6 inches broad;[1] both the right and left impress have the circle sign, and the ten toes are all fringed with figures of flowers (or flower scrolls) and forms of fishes which glisten brightly in the morning light. In old time Tathāgatha being about to attain Nirvāna was going northward to Kusinagara, when turning round to the south and looking back at Magadha, he stood upon this stone and said to Ananda: 'Now, for the very last time, I leave this foot impression, being about to attain Nirvāna, and looking at Magadha. A hundred years hence there shall be a King Aśoka; he shall build here his capital[2] and establish his court, and he shall protect the three treasures and command the genii.'[3] When Aśoka had ascended the throne he changed his capital and built this town; he enclosed the stone with the impression, and as it was near the royal precinct, he paid it constant personal worship. Afterwards the Kings of the neighbourhood wished to carry it off to their own country; but although the stone is not large, they could not move it at all. Lately Śaśāṅka Rāja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where the stone is for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks. Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before. Then he flung it into the river Ganges, but it came back to its old place.

V.—"By the side of the stone is a stupa which marks the place where the four past Buddhas walked and sat down, the traces of which still remain.

VI.—"By the side[4] of the vihara, which contains the traces of Buddha and not far from it, is a great stone pillar, about 30 feet high, with a mutilated inscription on it. This, however, is part of it, viz., Aśoka Rāja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudwipa (India) as a religious offering on Buddha, the Bharma, and the assembly, and thrice he had redeemed it with his jewels and treasures, 'and this is the record thereof.'

[1] According to *The Life of H. Tsiang*, BEAL'S Trans., p. 102, the stone was 'square, and the foot-prints about 1 foot 8 inches long and 6 inches broad.'

[2] Pāṭaliputra was only a village in Buddha's time. It is nowhere mentioned among the cities, and is only referred to in connection with Buddha's farewell visit to Magadha as the point of his departure on crossing to the north of the Ganges under the name of Pāṭaligram, which it was noted was being strengthened to resist attack from the country to the north, *i.e.*, Vaisāli.

[3] This mention of the *genii* refers to Aśoka's building powers.

[4] FaHian says 'to the south.'

VII.—"To the north of the old palace is a large stone-house. It looks outside like a great mountain, and within it is many tens of feet wide. This is the house which Aśoka Rāja commanded the genii to build for his brother who had become a recluse * * * a half-brother called Mahendra, who was born of a noble tribe. * * * * The King said: 'If you wish to subdue your heart *in quiet*, you have no need to live in the mountain fastness. To meet your wishes I shall construct you a dwelling.' Accordingly he summoned the genii to his presence. * * * * * The genii having received the order, before the day was over finished the task. Aśoka Rāja then himself went to invite his brother to fix his abode in this mountain cell.

VIII.—"To the north of the old palace and to the south of the hill is a great stone with a hollow trough in it. Aśoka Rāja commissioned the genii as workmen to make this hollow (vase) to use for the food which he gave to the priests when he invited them to eat.

IX.—"To the south-west of the old palace there is a little mountain. In the crags and surrounding valleys there are several tens of stone dwellings which Aśoka Rāja made for Upagupta and other *arhats* by the intervention of the genii.

X.—"By the side of it is an old tower, the ruins of which are a mass of heaped up stones. There is also a pond, the gentle ripples of which play over its surface as pure as a mirror. The people far and near call it 'the *sacred water*.' If any one drinks thereof or washes in it, the defilement of his sins is washed away and destroyed.

XI.—"To the south-west of the mountain is a collection of five stupas. The foundations are lofty, but ruinous; what remains, however, is a good height. At a distance they look like little hills. Each of them is several tens of paces in front. Men in after days tried to build on the top of these little stupas. The records of India state: 'In old time when Aśoka Rāja built the 84,000 stupas, there were still remaining five measures of relics.' Therefore he erected *with exceptional grandeur* five other stupas remarkable for their miraculous exhibition with a view to indicate the fivefold spiritual body of Tathāgatha. Some disciples of little faith talking together argued thus: 'In old time Nanda Rāja built these five (stupas) as treasure places for his wealth. In consequence of this gossip in after time a King of insincere faith, and excited by his covetousness, came with his followers to dig (the stupas). It is said, moreover (*i.e.*, in the Indian records), with respect to the gossip of the priests there has been some doubt expressed, but we believe it to be true according to the old tradition.'

XII.—"To the south-east of the old city [*N.B.—not* palace] there is the Sanghārāma called Kukkutārāma which was built by Aśoka Rāja when he first became a believer in the religion of Buddha.

It was a sort of firstfruit and *a pattern of majestic construction.* He gathered there a thousand priests. This building has long been in ruins, but the foundation walls are still preserved.

XIII.—" By the side of the Saṅghārāma is a great stupa called Ámalaka, which is the name of a fruit used as a medicine in India. King Aśoka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions so as to crown his religious merit. The minister who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with this wish * * * * [Then Aśoka bewailing his lot exclaimed :] 'The empire is no longer mine, this half fruit alone is left. * * * * Take this half fruit and offer it in the Garden of the Cock (monastery) to the priests.' * * * * The Sthavira in the midst of the priests spoke in reply : 'Aśoka Rāja by his former deeds may hope to recover. * * * This offering of half a fruit will secure the King an extension of life.' The King having recovered from his sickness gave large offerings to the priests * * * and he erected this stupa as a mark of gratitude for his prolonged life.

XIV.—" To the north-west of the *Ámalaka* stupa in the middle of an old Saṅghārāma is a stupa ; it is called 'establishing the sound of the *ghanta*' [and a long account is given of how the name was bestowed owing to the Buddhist monk Deva, a pupil of the great Nagarjuna, striking the *ghanta* or gong as a challenge to the heretics, *i.e.*, Jains.] * * * Then the King assembled the men of learning (the Buddhists), and said by way of decree 'whoever is defeated shall die as proof of his inferiority.' * * * In less than one hour he (Deva) refuted the sectaries, and the King and his ministers being satisfied raised this venerable monument in honour of his extreme virtue.

XV.—"To the north of the stupa built where the *ghanta* was sounded is an old foundation. This was the dwelling place of a Brahman that was inspired by demons. * * * Officers and people looked on him as a saint [until he was signally defeated in argument by the Bodhisattwa Aśva Ghosha]."

The mode of the discovery.

Now for the mode of my discovery. The most striking Buddhist feature in the neighbourhood of Patna, the existence of which I could elicit, was the *Bhikhna Pahāri*, or 'the Hill of the Mendicant Monk.' This hill had been incidentally mentioned by Mr. Beglar in his report, but not visited by him or his staff. As we have seen from H. Tsiang's account, Aśoka's capital possessed two hills for mendicant monks, viz.

Prince Mahendra's Hermitage Hill.

Prince Mahendra's hill (para. VII) and Upagupta's hill (para. IX). So I at once proceeded to *Bhikhna Pahāri, vide* A on map, and found it to be an artificial hill of brick debris over 40 feet high and about a mile in circuit, and now crowned by the residence of the Nawāb Sahib of Patna.

Several largish stones were seen strewn about. But here is the most interesting and important point:—*At the north-eastern base of 'The Hill of the Mendicant Monk' is the shrine of the Bhikhna Kuṅwār or 'The Mendicant Prince.'* And the object here worshipped under the title of the *Bhikhna Kuṅwār* is the image of a many-peaked hill with a path-way leading up from the base along a ledge and climbing a steep valley to a tortuous recess (in which the cave was situated)—*vide* photograph, Plate I. It is, and always has been, without any enclosure and uncovered by any awning or roof. This is clearly the *fac-simile* in miniature of the historic hermitage hill built by Aśoka for Prince Mahendra, who afterwards became the Buddhist Apostle of Ceylon.[1] In Aśoka's time objective Buddhism had not yet reached beyond the stage of relic worship; and here we find in the *Bhikhna Kuṅwār* the practice of that primitive stage of Buddhism still conserved. The Prince's hermitage is worshipped under his name. This image is worshipped by the semi-aborigines of the country—the Dosādhs, Ahīrs and Goalas—with offerings of flowers, fruits, milk, sweetmeats and silken thread in the same manner as the remote ancestors of the present generation of worshippers paid homage to the mendicant Prince Mahendra in Aśoka's day. As the Dosādhs are essentially worshippers of devils and malignant ghosts, they now add to the above offerings their habitual wine libation and an occasional pig sacrifice; but it is remarkable that these are applied to the outer side of the hillock, while all the truly Buddhist offerings of milk, rice, sweetmeats, flowers and fruits are deposited in the recess half-way up the hill, where the cave appears to have been situated, and the outer entrance to which faces eastwards. The higher caste Hindus in the neighbourhood pay the Dosādhs to make offerings on their behalf.

Worship of Prince Mahendra's Hill.

The history of this image, so far as can now be ascertained from the hereditary Dosādh priest in charge of it, is that it existed on the top of the mound of *Bhikhna Pahāri*, to which it gave its name from time immemorial until about 113 years ago, *i.e.*, about 1780A.D., when the ancestor of the present Nawāb Sahib began building his house upon the hill and close to the image. The tradition goes that the building fell down several times and could not be completed until the Muhammadan noble

History of the image of the hill.

[1] Mahendra plays a leading part in Singalese Buddhist tradition; and the story of his missionary visit to Ceylon is also noted by Hiuen-Tsiang, who writes:—"The younger brother of Aśoka Rāja, Mahendra by name, * * * * * having the power of instant locomotion, he came to this country (Sinhala). He spread the knowledge of the true law, and widely diffused the bequeathed doctrine—" II. p. 247. And it is curious in this regard to find the villagers of Kumrāhār, which, as we will see, is probably the site of Aśoka's palace, stating that in that village formerly dwelt the brother of the Ceylon demon king, viz., Kumbha-Karna. It looks, however, as if this belief merely owed its existence to an attempt to account for the modern name of the village.

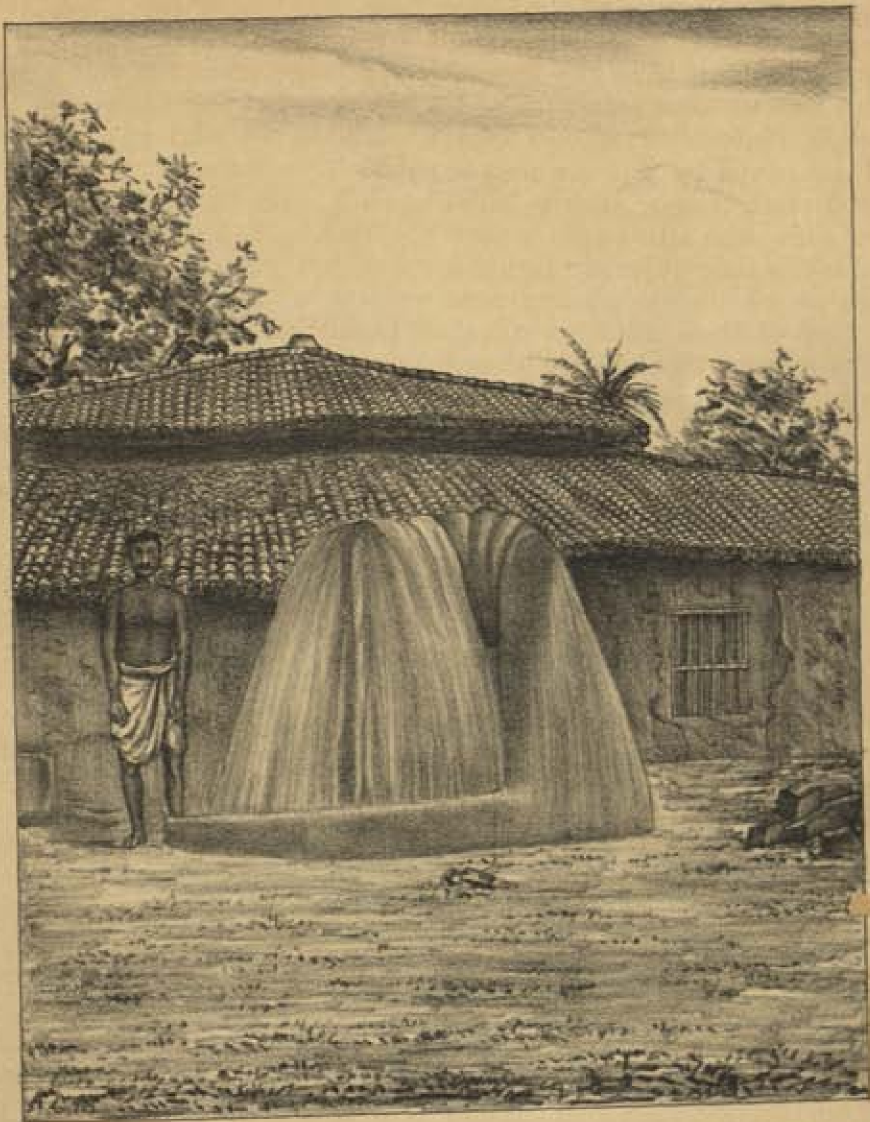


IMAGE OF
PRINCE MAHENDRA'S HERMITAGE HILL.
(from a Photograph).

Reg. No. 229, Bengal, Fin.—Nov. 92.—300.

Litho, S. I. O., Calcutta

besought the priest, the great-grandfather of the present one, to remove the image, and accompanied the request with a present of money. It was then removed to the site where it now is.

Description of the hill-image.

The general contour of this hill-image has been noted above. The image is about four and a half feet high and made of clay. As it exists quite in the open and unprotected by any roof, it is partially eroded and washed away during the rains. It is therefore repaired after each rainy season. Its present shape is that which has been handed down hereditarily in the priest's family as the orthodox shape; but why this particular shape was given it the priest is unable to say. The survival of this image with a well-preserved form during all these centuries is a most curious fact in the history of idol-worship—especially when it is remembered that the image is made of perishable plastic material requiring constant renewal, and *the worshippers as well as their priests are quite unaware that the object which they worship is a hill!* It may probably prove to be a model of the celebrated Gṛidhrakūṭa or 'Vulture's peak' of the Rajgir Hills, a favourite hermitage of Buddha. For FaHian states[1] that Aśoka enticed Mahendra from the Gṛidhrakūṭa hill to his artificial hill near his palace in Pāṭaliputra, and it is highly probable that Aśoka would model his hill after the old hermitage of his brother. And I am informed that there is a suggestive resemblance between this image and that hill; but this question must be reserved for future investigation.[2]

The name 'Bhikhna.'

The popular name for a Buddhist monk was *Bhikhu* (and *Śamān*). The current name of Bhikhna is an adjectival form of this noun.

The stones of the hill.

The Chinese descriptions refer to the hill as being built of huge blocks of stone; but it appears that the stones were chiefly at the base and as a lining wall of the contained cell; so that most of them must be buried deep in the debris of the hill which now overspreads the base. I will note, further on, how stones are utilized and consumed in Patna, thus accounting for the relative scarcity of superficial stones at the ruins.

The rest of the discovery.

Having thus fixed with certainty the position of Mahendra's Hermitage Hill—and I may note that the *mahalla* or ward of Patna adjoining this hill is called Mahendru[3]—the rest of the identifications followed with

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Chap. XXVII.

[2] H. Tsiang's description of the *Gṛidhrakūṭa* or 'Vulture's peak' is:—"It rises as a solitary peak to a great height on which vultures make their abode * * * * The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from the north to the south. * * * * By the side of the mountain cliff is a great stone-house. In this Tathāgatha, when dwelling in this world long ago, entered Samādhi."—II. p. 153.

[3] 'Mahendra' is said by Sir A. Cunningham to have been a title of Kumara Gupta.

comparative ease and certainty. For Mahendra's hill lay to the north of Aśoka's palace and the city monuments; so that the sites of the latter must have remained practically uninjured by Gangetic action. I therefore made at once for *Bara pahāri*, 'or the great hill,' and *Chhota pahāri*, which in direction and distance answered generally to H. Tsiang's description of Upagupta's Hermitage Hill (para. IX) and the five stupas (para. XI), and such they proved to be. On the way thither I sighted two great stupa-like mounds and other high brick mounds which, on closer inspection, seemed to be the remains of Aśoka's palace and hell (paras. II and III), the Vihara of Buddha's foot-prints (para. IV), and what seems to be *the actual stone containing the foot-prints*, the base of a small Aśoka pillar, an Aśoka image, the great beam pallisade and moats noted by the Greek historians, &c., &c.

I will now give a short description of the superficial appearance of these remains, so far as could be noted during my very brief visit, together with the identifications of such of the mounds as seem almost altogether beyond doubt. But, of course, the real nature of most of these mounds can only be revealed by actual excavation.

The Rāja's (?Nanda's and Chandragupta's) palace.

B. The Rāja's palace.—*Vide* B on map, Plate II. This seems one of the oldest and most promising sites for excavation in India; and may prove to be the site of the palace of Nanda and Chandragupta. For it is the traditional residence of the Kings of Pāṭaliputra, and it certainly contains remains of over 2,000 years old; and would seem to cover the transition period in architecture from wood to stone, over which there are such vexed opinions. It is a mine of sculptures: wherever the villagers dig wells or house-foundations they come upon sculptured stones and statues of generally grand proportions and execution, and usually in fairly good preservation, having been so deeply buried in the debris of so many centuries.

How discovered.

Old Mātri sculptures.

I was led to discover the place by seeing near the roadside of the adjoining hamlet of Nayatola, a very fine sculptured pillar of a pair of *Mātris* or divine mothers or energies about ⅔ life-size, in the very old style as seen in the Barhut sculptures, and in the same highly polished hard sandstone of the Aśoka epoch. On its two opposite sides are two female figures, one on either side, deeply carved in bold relief, and closely resembling the Barhut Stupa Pillar—figure 3 of Plate XXIII in Cunningham's *Stupa of Barhut* inscribed 'Chulakoka Devata.' The upraised right hand grasps a branch of a tree, which from its fruit and leaves seems the *Anona squamosa* or 'custard apple;' while the remaining two narrow sides of the pillar are ornamented with plantain (*Musa sapientum*) and mango (*Mangifera indica*) foliage. No inscriptions appear on the exposed portion, but the


REFERENCES.
The Fort is taken from Rennell's Survey Map of 1780.
Modern names are in small italics, & ancient names are in stone letters.
The city 'main drains' are colored green as some are old moats.
The new-formed land to North is colored yellow.
A. Prince Mahendra's Hermitage Hill.
B. ? Nanda's (& Chandragupta's) Palace.
C. ? Ashoka's Palace.
D. ? First Ashoka Relic-Stupa.
E. ? Vihara of Buddha's Foot-prints.
F. ? Stupa where former four Buddhas sat.
H. ? Hinayana Monastery.
I. ? Mahayana do.
J. Ruins with Buddha's Foot-print-stone.
K. Upagupta's Hermitage Hill.
L. Pond 'Basaru'.
M. The Five Residuary Relic-Stupas.
N. ? 'The Cock' Monastery.
O. O¹. Stupa-like-mounds.
P. Shrine of Brahman Moti's Ghost.
R¹, R², R³, & R⁴. Sites of 'Pallbothra' Beam-pallisade.
PLAN OF
PATALIPUTRA
By L. A. WADDELL.
Scale 2 Inches = 1 Mile.
GANGES RIVER
Sand-banks
Old Ganges Channel
New-formed Land
PATALIPUTRA
KUSUMPURA
PATNA CITY
Bankipur
PRINCE MAHENDRA'S HERMITAGE HILL
Old River Bed
BUDDHA-PAD
THE ANCIENT RAJAS PALACE
UPAGUPTA'S HILL
THE FIVE RELIC-STUPAS
Low Land Inundated by Old Son River
Ashokhanda
CITADEL
E.I. Railway
E.I. Company's Old Factory
One of the Junctions of Old Son River HIRANYABHADRA (Erranoboas) with Ganges
From Allahabad
From Dinapur
From Rajgriha & Gaya

lower half of the block is embedded in mud, and it is said to want the feet. I may note that cattle now use the sculpture as a rubbing post.

Depth of debris and sculptures.

On proceeding to the spot where this statue was unearthed, I found it to be in the centre of that very old site now occupied by the village called Kumrāhār. This site for about a square quarter of a mile is one vast mound of brick debris interspersed with a few tank-like hollows. The depth to which this debris extends is very great. This is doubtless due in part to the raising of the general level of the country by accretion of silt during the past 2,000 years. In digging wells the carved stones are mostly met with at 8 to 15 feet below the surface, and as most of the villagers are Muhammadans, such sculptured stones as are dug out are carried away by those Hindus who care for them, and so disappear. But I saw some which had lately been extracted. Two of these were a pair of lions couchant in fine white sandstone, about 18 inches long and almost uninjured. Several other blocks bore scroll designs, and some were quite plain, but all in good preservation, and all had been found over 8 or 10 feet below the surface.

The villagers say that this was the palace of the early Kings of the country, and that its old names are Nema or Nima and Kumrāhār;[1] and that it was the residence of Bikramadyit, Balal Sen and Nanda Lāl. Although there is reason to believe that this may have been the site of Nanda Rāja's palace, it would seem that the Nanda Lāl of the villagers is a relatively modern personage—indeed, it is alleged he was a contemporary of the Muhammadan Emperor Jahāngir. Bikramadyit is a secondary name of Chandragupta I. and II. of the early Gupta dynasty.

History of Nanda.

Nanda Rāja is incidentally mentioned by H. Tsiang (para. XI) as a former King of Magadha and possessed of vast wealth. And Hindu and Ceylon traditions[2] speak of 'The Nine Nandas'—the last of whom, Dhana Nanda,[3] or 'The Rich Nanda,' was deposed by Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśoka, who then usurped Nanda's kingdom. Thus the present site may also prove to be Chandragupta's palace, as well as the earlier residence of Aśoka.

C. Aśoka's palace.—The site at Kumrāhār contains sculptures of about Aśoka's age; but in the absence of exploratory excavations it is

[1] The name does not seem related to Kumhār, or Kumhrā, a potter, as there is no tradition of this village having been a potter's settlement. Indeed, there is a current tradition that it is unlucky for a potter to settle in this village.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, XX. 167; *J. A. S. B.* III. 343, and XXXIV. 62; Wilson's *Essays Sanskt. Lit.* I. 174, Burnouf *Introd.*, 359; and *Lotus De la bonne Loi*, 452; Max Müller *Sanskt. Lit.*, 275; Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II. 144, and *Mahavansa*.

[3] The adjoining villages of Dhānpur and Dānapur (Ang. 'Dinapore') may be connected with this Dhana Nanda Rāja.

impossible to identify any of the mounds hereabouts with certainty. It is not improbable, however, that the old site on which now stands the village of Sandalpur may prove to be the site of Aśoka's palace, as it seems to generally correspond in distance and direction from the other monuments as described by the Chinese pilgrims. It is reported to have been formerly the residence of Bhim Sen—the Indian Hercules; and as Aśoka's great edict-pillars are popularly ascribed to Bhim Sen, this tradition may possibly be a survival of the memory of the pillar which Aśoka erected to the north of the *vihara* of Buddha's foot-prints:—"a stone pillar, about 35 feet in height, on the top of which he placed the figure of a lion, and also engraved a historical record on the front of the pillar giving an account of the successive events connected with the city of Nili, with corresponding year, day, and month."[1] The pillar here referred to seems to be the same as that mentioned by H. Tsiang in para. II as standing to the north of Aśoka's palace.[2] Another current tradition amongst the villagers is that Sandalpur was the residence of a Queen named *Kamalabati, i.e.*, Padmavati. And Major Wilford found in the old Hindu books that King Nanda had his residence at Padmavati.[3] And in some of the Tibetan books 'The Great *Padma*' (Mahapadma) is made to appear identical or co-regent with King Nanda.

The '*Gun-Sar*' probably the old channel of the Ganges in Buddha's time.

To its front, *i.e.*, to the north, is the fine lake Gun-Sar, called by the more literate residents *Ganga-Sāgar*, which seems to be a deepened portion of an old channel of the Son or Ganges, and most probably of the latter. For all the low-caste Hindus, *i.e.*, those who are most aboriginal, here hold their great River festival of Baruni in the month of Bhadon (September), while the higher caste Hindus, *i.e.*, the more modern inhabitants, hold this festival at the modern channel of the Ganges. The importance of this observation will be seen shortly in regard to the stone foot-print of Buddha.

D. The First Aśoka relic stupa.—This famous stupa, the first of those erected by Aśoka, at his redistribution of the relics of Buddha's body, may probably be identified with the high conical brick mound D, still about 25 to 30 feet high. H. Tsiang states, para. III, that this stupa was "to the south of 'the hell,' but not far off," while FaHian states that it lay "300 to 400 paces to the south" of Aśoka's "city" and "about 3 li (*i.e.*, ½ mile) to the south of the city," all of which statements seem to coincide with the position of this mound "*D.*"

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[1] FaHian, Chapter XXVII, page 109.
[2] The name Bhim might possibly be a memorial of the name of 'Aśoka's great-grandfather,' Bimbasaru.
[3] *As. Researches*, IX.

E. The Vihara of Buddha's Foot-prints.—This famous *vihara* was, says H. Tsiang—*vide* para. IV—"by the side of the (relic) stupa" (D); but FaHian further states that "the gate (of this *vihara*) is *turned to the stupa and faces* the north,"[1] thus showing that the *vihara* was close to the south of the stupa. Such a position would be at the brick mound *E*, near where is still seen the base of a sandstone pillar highly polished in the Aśoka style.

Its position on the old river bank.

This position for the site of Buddha's foot-prints is also in strict physical keeping with the traditional account of Buddha's journey in the story. The aged Buddha, a few weeks before his *pari-nirvana* or "death," was departing for the last time from Magadha, the scene of his attaining the Buddhahood and of his most notable missionary labours and his favourite hermitages, and from this point he took his last look of Magadha before crossing to the north bank of the Ganges. This spot is on the high bank of an old river channel which formerly was evidently either the Son near its junction with the Ganges, or the Ganges itself, with which latter its name and the above-noted worship associate it. At such a spot, while waiting for a ferry, and under such circumstances, the reflections which Buddha is said to have expressed to his faithful cousin were highly natural and proper to the occasion:—

"'Ananda! this is the very last time that I shall gaze (at a distance) upon the Vājrasana and Rājagriha, &c., &c.,' and the traces of his feet on this stone remained."[2]

The foot-print stone still extant.

The foot-print stone which marked this event was afterwards enshrined in a vihara built by Aśoka. But the stone shortly before H. Tsiang's visit had been broken and defaced by the iconoclast Hindu King Śaśāṅka of Kārna Suvarna, regarding whom and his lost capital I submit some information as an appendix *q.v.*; and H. Tsiang further states that King Śaśāṅka flung it into the river Ganges, "but it came back to its old place." It was a strange coincidence here that on my asking some villagers whom I had called to interrogate about the ruins whether any big stones existed in the neighbourhood, they replied that close at hand is a curious big flat stone that has always existed there, and no matter where it is taken to "it always came back to its old place." Here they used the identical expression of H. Tsiang in regard to the stone with Buddha's foot-prints. So I went immediately to the stone—*vide* J on map—and *found it to be, in my opinion, the actual and original stone of the foot-print of Buddha* as seen and

[1] LAIDLAY's *Edn.*, after KLAPROTH, p. 255.
[2] *Life of H. Tsiang*, BEAL's Trans., p. 102.

described by FaHian and Hiuen Tsiang in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D., and to which the same marvellous story still clings.

Its present condition.

According to *The Life of H. Tsiang*[1] the stone was "square," and not of very large size, and the impression was of the right and left foot, each "about one foot and eight inches long and six inches broad." And Julien's translation of H. Tsiang's narrative states regarding Śaśāṅka's mutilation 'se rendit aussitôt dans le lieu où était la pierre, et voulut effacer les traces sacrées; mais à peine avait-elle été taillée *à coups de ciseau* qu'elle redevenait unie, et que les ornaments reparaissaient comme auparavant."[2] The stone here found is a block of cloudy quartzite about two and a half feet by two feet square. The full depth is not apparent, as it is embedded in the ground. It bears on its upper surface the defaced yet quite distinct marks of two monster foot-prints placed side by side, a right and a left foot, each about twenty inches long by six inches wide. It has been deliberately chiselled away (in keeping with Julien's translation above noted) in several parallel lines along one border of its face, as if to remove an inscription, and is chipped along the edges and otherwise defaced and scaled, such as might be expected after Śaśāṅka's mutilation of it, and the villagers use it as a hone to sharpen their knives. But even now, after twelve and a half additional centuries of exposure, I can well imagine a pious monk like H. Tsiang still able to see with the eye of faith, in the dim "morning light,"[3] figures of flowers and fishes clustering around the toes.

This stone resembles all the really ancient *rock*-marked Buddha foot-prints, such as those at Mount Uren, &c., all of which possess a certain naturalness, whereas the neatly chiselled "prints" on basalt blocks at Bodh-Gaya and elsewhere are flagrantly artificial and modern.[4]

Its occurrence on the surface.

That this stone is found on the surface is due, I fancy, to the piety of subsequent Buddhist pilgrims keeping it on the surface for inspection long after its *vihara* had fallen into ruins; and that it still exists and so close to the railway, it owes to its unwieldy bulky character, which renders its conversion into road-metal rather difficult. If its *vihara* be taken as at D, according to FaHian's description, then it would seem as if the stone had been slightly removed from its original site.

F. The Stupa marking where the Four former Buddhas sat down.—This stupa, described in para. V, was "by the side of the foot-prints," and may prove to be the stupa-like brick mound, about 25 to 30 feet high, *F* on map. The mound to the south-west of this, crowned by

[1] BEAL's Trans., p. 102—*vide* para. IV.
[2] *Voyag. des Pel. Boudd.* I. 422, Paris, 1875
[3] *Vide* H. TSIANG's Acct., para. IV.
[4] Some ancient *images* of foot-prints are also highly ornamented.

the ruined tomb of Lashkāri Bībī, is also stupa-like, and around it are mounds of other ruins.

G. The Jambudwip pillar.—This pillar, bearing the record of Aśoka's munificent gifts to the Buddhist Church, and described in para. IV, was, says FaHian, immediately to the south of the vihara of the foot-prints, and, if not converted into road-rollers, may still be lying embedded there.

H. The Hinayana Monastery.—This monastery, noted by FaHian, being of the more primitive sect, may be represented by the mass of brick ruins, *H* on map, now mostly dug up.

I. The Mahayana Monastery.—This more modern monastery, which FaHian describes as being "very imposing and elegant," and situated by the side of the relic stupa, but which at H. Tsiang's visit seems to have been a ruin, may be the great mound *I* on map.

J. Other Monasteries.—The very old and extensive mound of brick debris of the 'Bilandi Bāgh,' *J* on map, on the middle of which lies the stone with the feet-impress, may possibly have been the original vihara and accessory buildings enshrining that stone, seeing that the villagers associate the stone with that spot. It may, however, be one of "the hundred" ruined monasteries referred to by H. Tsiang. The modern name appears to be of Muhammadan origin and intended for *bulandhi*, which defines its *mound*-like character. Numerous other mounds of old brick debris are found between the Pānch Pāhari and the site of Pāṭaliputra, from which all of the whole bricks have been dug out, leaving here and there near the excavations large stone lintels and door-jambs. Many of these mounds doubtless represent others of the ruined monasteries seen by H. Tsiang, as most of the great buildings of Pāṭaliputra seem to have been Buddhist. The high sites *Sangrām* outside the western gate of Patna, and *Samanpura* to the west of Bankipur station, bear names suggestive of Buddhist monasteries.

K. Upagupta's Hermitage Hill.—This hill, erected for the great Saint Upagupta, the fourth Patriarch of the early Buddhist church,[1] and described in para. IX of H. Tsiang's account, I identify with the high brick mound now known as *Chhota pahāri* or 'the little hill' and its adjoining mounds. One of these, called *Pattarodih*, or the 'mound of stones,' may also be part of Upagupta's hill, or it may be the ruined tower noted in para. X.

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[1] Upagupta, 'The Fourth Patriarch,' was, according to the northern Buddhists, the contemporary and chief adviser of Aśoka; but he is unknown, at least under that name, to the Ceylon chroniclers, who make Arhat 'Moggaliputta Tissa' to be the head monk at Pāṭaliputra in Aśoka's day. The Tibetan book entitled 'byung khungs *s*Grol-ma-hi *r*gyud,' or 'The origin of the Tārā Tantra,' states that he is also called in Sanskrit Rātigupta, and that he was a native of Kashmir, who at an early age went to 'The Middle Country' of India, where he followed the School of Ananda and soon became famous.

L. The Sin-cleansing Pond.—The 'tank' *L* by the side of *Chhota pahāri* is probably the pond here referred to, although it bears now no sacred repute; its name of '*Basāru Pokhar*' may possibly be a corruption of *Bish* and *ahāran* or 'the poison destroyer,' which would define the cleansing properties described by H. Tsiang in para. X. It may, however, be a survival of the name of Aśoka's great-grandfather Bim-*Basāru*.

M. The Five Residuary Relic Stupas.—These five great stupas, described in para. XI, seem undoubtedly to be the *Panj pahāri* or 'five hills' of the earlier Muhammadan writers, and the *Bara pahāri* or 'great hill,' as the mass is now usually called, the enormous brick mound *M* of map. H. Tsiang calls them "a collection of five stupas," implying that they were close together, and they had been "erected with exceptional grandeur," but at his visit "the foundations are lofty but ruinous. * * * * At a distance they look like little hills." He also adds that "men in after days tried to build on the top of these stupas," and dug into them for the treasure of Nanda Rāja supposed to be hid there. All these operations must have deformed the collection into one shapeless mass even in H. Tsiang's day; but so late as Akbar's time the tradition of the five component structures still remained. It is noted in contemporary Muhammadan history that before attacking the rebel army in Patna, "the Emperor (Akbar) went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and environs of the city, and he ascended the *Panj pahāri* which is opposite the fort. *This Panj pahāri or five domes is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages.* The Afghans who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in the despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the *Panj pahāri*, but they did no injury to anyone."[1] The *Panj pahāri* or *Bara pahāri* is about $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles from the south-west angle of the Patna fort, and commands an uninterrupted view of the country around, and especially towards the fort, where most of the intervening lands up to the walls of the fort is low-lying and inundated, and almost devoid of trees.

The *Panj pahāri* in Akbar's time.

This enormous mound is still being fitfully dug into, as was noted in H. Tsiang's account, and for the same alleged reason, viz., search for the treasure of the ancient Rāja, and it still is being built upon. But it has been too far distant from Patna to have been extensively used as a quarry, and suitable excavation must reveal its five constituent tombs of the last five portions of the redivided relics of Buddha's body; while the first portion of these relics was entombed, as we have seen, not far off.

Present condition.

[1] *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri*, Elliot's Muhammadan Hist. V. 378.

And it is possible that the treasure-hunters may not have tapped the relic chambers of these stupas.

Local remains of Aśoka's name.

It is worth noting that the land adjoining this on the west is called *Asho Chak*, that is, 'Asho (ka)'s plot,' *Asho* being the orthographic mode of spelling Aśo. And Asho's plot runs due west to near the Patna-Gaya road, where it is called Asho Khanda or 'Asho's moat,' and marches with the village of *Dasratha*—the name of Aśoka's grandson and successor—whose inscription on the Barabar cave[1] designates him, like Aśoka, as 'the beloved of the gods.' And not far to the west of Dasratha is the village of Asopur. And about two miles to the east of the east gate of Patna city is the village of 'Ashakpur.' And still further to the south-east another village of Ashopur.

N. The monastery of 'The Cock' and its adjacent monuments.—To the south-east of the Old City (*N.B.—not* 'palace') were the ruins of the celebrated *Kukkutarama* or Cock Monastery—*see* para. XII. If the 'Council of Pāṭaliputra' of the southern Buddhists really happened, it must have been held in this great building, and the mention of the 1,000 monks (called sthaviras or 'elders' in *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*) who were 'gathered' here by Aśoka might possibly bear that interpretation of this 'convocation'—"The Third Council" of the Ceylon traditions. I have had no opportunity of visiting all the area to the south-east of Pāṭaliputra, and the railway passes some high old-looking mounds near the Patna city station which should be fully explored. The site of this monastery may prove to be that now occupied by the village of Tulsi Mandi, *N* on map (N[1] is also a possible site), as the site is a very old one, and in the neighbourhood are remains which generally correspond in position with those of the pilgrims' text described in relation to this monastery. Thus the *Amalaka Stupa*, para. XIII, would be the high conical mound *O* on which the Jain temple stands. The old monastery with the *Ghanta Stupa*, the scene of the great Arya Deva's[2] victory—*vide* para. XIV—might

[1] J. Prinsep in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1837, p. 677.

[2] This Deva, called by H. Tsiang 'Deva Bodhisatwa' and by the Tibetans 'Arya Deva,' succeeded Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mahayana system, as the 15th Patriarch of the Buddhist Church. His biography is given by the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, whose account I here translate:—Guru Arya Deva was born miraculously from a lotus in the island of Singgala (H. Tsiang also states—I, page 188—that Deva was 'of the island of Sinhala,' *i.e.*, Ceylon). The King of that country adopted him. On growing up he went to Nagarjuna and became his pupil, and soon acquired great learning. At that time there was a teacher of the heretics named Ma-khol, whose tutelary deity was Maheshwara, and who was very learned and doing great injury to Buddhism by making many converts to his belief, and latterly he arrived at Nalendra (the Pali name of this great monastery, the extensive ruins of which still exist at Bargaon near Bihār, is Nalanda). The residents of Nalendra went to Nagarjuna, who was then sitting at *Sri 'Gyi' parvata*, and appealed for aid, and Deva was sent. On his way a tree-goddess asked him for an eye, and he immediately gave it her (Deva is also called Kāna Deva or 'the one-eyed Deva'). The heretic enquired:—'How is it you have but one eye.' To which Deva replied:—'The Rudras have three eyes yet cannot see, Indra has 1,000 eyes, but still he cannot see, Arya Deva with his one eye can see the three worlds perfectly.' The disputation then began, and ultimately the heretic was converted to Buddhism. A list follows of the books 'collected' and 'made' by Deva.

be the very large brick mound with raised centre about 300 yards to the north-west of this. And, in connection with para. XV, detailing the defeat of the Brahman by Asva Gosha, the Twelvth Buddhist Patriarch, it is curious to find that about 300 yards to the east of this last site, viz. at P, is an old brick mound with a shrine to the *ghost of a Brahman* named Moti, who had, in ages long gone by, met with an untimely death, and H. Tsiang notes[1] that those defeated in religious discussions before the Pāṭaliputra King were put to death.

Q. The heretics (*Jains*).—In the Jain temples near *Q* we have evidence of the proximity of 'the heretics' referred to by H. Tsiang. I only saw these temples from a distance, and am indebted to Babu Girījā Prashad Dabi, who rendered me valuable attendance and aid in this enquiry, for a detailed note on these temples, from which I make the following extracts :—

There are two temples, one of which is called the Asthān of *Sthul Bhadra Swāmī*, and contains a small modern carved foot-print on a block of grey stone. The other temple is called the Asthān of *Seth Sudarsan Swāmiji*, and the attendant priest paints every morning a fresh foot-print in saffron on a block of stone ; and near the door is a 'pinde' of Bhairab. In neither of the temples are there any images. Above the door of the first-noted temple is the following inscription in *Devanāgari* :—

संवत १८४८ वर्षे मार्गे शिर वदी ५ सोम वासरे श्री पाटली पुर वास्तव्य श्री सकल संघ समुदायेन श्री स्थूल भद्र स्वामी जी प्रसाद मेयं कारापितं कार्यं स्मार्गे खरो श्री तप गच्छी यद श्री लोटा श्री गुलाव चन्द जी प्रतिष्ठितं सकल सरितिः

Translation.—"In 1848 Sambat (*i.e.*, 1791 A.D.), in the month of Aghān (Marg Sir), the 5th day after the full moon on Monday, all the inhabitants of Pāṭalipura gave this temple to Sthul Bhadra Swāmijī for his deeds, with the aid of Sri Tapa Gachhi, Sri Lota and Sri Gulab Chandji."

The current story regarding Swāmi Sudarsanjī closely resembles that related by H. Tsiang (*vide* para. II) concerning the Sramana and Aśoka's hell. It is said that Swāmi Sudarsanjī on a false charge was thrown by the King of Pāṭaliputra into a torture chamber, but remained unscathed, and was found seated serenely on a lotus-cushion. This legend seems rather a medley of ancient tales, Sudarsan being, according to Hindu accounts, the father of Pāṭali, the mythical foundress of the city.[2] The inscribed record is of value, however, in preserving the classic name of *Pāṭalipura*.

[1] *Op. cit.*, II. 99.
[2] BUCHANAN'S *East India*, I. 28.

R. The old wooden walls of 'Palibothra'.—Traces of the old wooden walls of Pāṭaliputra as reported by Megasthenes in the 4th century (B.C.) still exist. The villagers in digging wells came upon the beams 10 to 15 feet below the present surface level. The beams are of sal wood (*Shorea robusta*) and of immense girth and in an upright position, and the wood is in excellent preservation. The Hindu villagers are very superstitious about these beams, being unable to account for their presence so far below the surface, and they generally abandon and fill up their attempted well on finding them.

The beams still extant.

I ascertained three sites where such beams were found in this way, namely:—

Sites of beams.

1st.—At the spot marked R^1 between the 'Bilandi' mounds and the western border of Kumrāhār in a field belonging to Ram Charan Koiri and close to the railway, about a year ago. The well was filled up and abandoned, and the beam still remains there.

2nd.—At the spot marked $R,^2$ one mile north-east of *Chhota pahāri* in a field belonging to Meghu Koiri of Chotta pahāri village, lately found when sinking a well, and when found the well was abandoned and *not* filled up. The beam is now visible (April 1892) from above, and was inspected for me by Babu Girijā Prashad Dabi, who reports that it is seen at a depth of about 18 feet from the surface, of very large diameter, and a little inclined from the vertical.

3rd.—At the spot marked $R,^3$ about 200 yards to the north of the railway line opposite the old well 'Agam Kua' and close to the western border of the village of Tulsi Mandi, *O*, and at the side of the *Mahārāj Khanda* or 'Emperor's Moat.' Here a group of about 25 to 30 beams were exposed in excavating a tank about 25 years ago, and were for a long time visible. This is evidently the site of one of those numerous towers mentioned by Megasthenes.

An additional site is near the spot marked R^4 in the lake now called *Mangle's Talao* in the centre of Patna City, where Mr. McCrindle reported[1] the exposure of several beams during excavations, about 20 years ago. But Mr. Beglar, who shortly afterwards made local enquiries about the beams, could find no trace of them or even of their site.

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[1] *Op. cit.*

Besides the above, numerous remains of old wooden boats and planks are constantly being found when digging wells in the low-lying fields stretching between Gun Sār and the city station which represent part of the old city moats. Two recent instances of such deep unearthing of wooden remains are—(1) A well in the field of Jīat Koirí, of *Chhota pahāri* village, situated a few yards to the north-east of the well with the beam R^2 aforenoted, and (2) a well dug by the Patna Municipality a few months ago in Mahalla Sadar ka Gali.

S. Aśoka's City Walls.—Aśoka, we are told, "built an outside rampart to surround the old city," regarding which H. Tsiang notes that at his visit "there only remain the old foundations." The pilgrim does not state whether these walls were of brick or stone, but most probably they were the former. A part of the lines of these walls I saw to that north of Tulsi Mandi, where they border a moat called *Mahārāj Khanda* or "the Emperor's Cuttings." There should be no difficulty in tracing these ramparts for several miles. From Panj pahāri I observed about half mile to the east an old moat with earth-works running northwards called "*Khanda Pokhar.*"

The 'Mahārāj Khanda' or 'The Emperor's Moats.'

The Stones of Aśoka's Buildings.—A feature of Aśoka's buildings was the extensive introduction of stone, and the use of blocks of such vast size as to excite the wonder of succeeding generations, who attributed, as we have seen, their formation and transport to supernatural agency. Now, what has become of these stones? To this I answer, they never have been searched for, or at least properly searched for. We have seen how at Nanda's palace these remains are buried many yards deep under the debris of 18 to 20 centuries. In digging up bricks from the ruins of the less ancient and more superficial ruins, any stones which are portable are promptly carried off and utilized in endless ways in Patna and the villages around, with the ultimate result of their complete disappearance, as most of them are of friable standstone.

I may instance some of the ways in which the stones of Aśoka's buildings which have come to the surface have been, and are being, consumed in Patna:—

Consumption of old stones in Patna.

(1) Building the 'Stone Mosque' figured by Buchanan[1] and parts of other musjids.

(2) Dhobis' slabs at the washing ghats and tanks.

(3) Dead weights to bucket-levers for raising well-water for irrigation.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, I. 41.

(4) Broken into pieces as weights for grain and other merchants.

(5) Rudely carved into *Goraiya* 'stools,' a favourite object of worship with the semi-aborigines here.

(6) *Sati* pillars, and for this purpose they are removed to long distances.[1]

(7) Road metal to some extent. And it would be interesting to learn the full history of all the stone road-rollers in and around Patna.

Extant stone remains in Patna.

Notwithstanding this extensive consumption of the stones which has been going on for ages, it is surprising to see so many stones still extant. During my short visit, wherever I went fragments of these old sculptured stones were to be seen being utilized in modes (2) to (5) of above list, or lying in heaps by the roadside. On the road outside the north-west corner of the Lunatic Asylum, and also about 100 yards further east on the same road, are collections of several finely chiselled sandstone fragments of door pillars. Patna has only to be well searched to yield numerous sculptures. Some of the massive blocks of stone are to be seen exposed at the following sites:—(1) At Rampur village a group of about a dozen lying near the south-east corner of village. (2) In the adjoining village of Bahadurpur several. (3) One is lying in the bottom of an excavation for bricks close to beam R^2 at Tulsi Mandi.

The bricks of Pāṭaliputra.

As to the brick portions of Pāṭaliputra buildings, it is very evident what became of them. A great part of Patna is built of Pāṭaliputra bricks; and into the fortifications of Sher Shah and Akbar must have been poured[2] a large part of the bulk of Pāṭaliputra. Even now the excavation for bricks is still going on to a slight extent, but the quantity of good bricks now obtainable scarcely repays the expense of excavation.

The boundaries of Pāṭaliputra.—I have not materials for defining these even approximately. Nothing but a detailed survey and examination of the extent and directions of the *Mahārāj Khanda*, or the Emperor's moats and ramparts, and a search for more of the old wooden walls, can determine this question.

In conclusion, I must note that the magnificence of Aśoka's monuments elsewhere throughout India leads us to expect great things from properly conducted excavations at his palaces and capital, apart

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[1] An instance of an Aśoka pillar being thus used I reported to the Bengal Asiatic Society—*vide Proceedings*, December 1890.

[2] It is noted in the *Tarikh-i Sher-Shahi* that the fort of Sher Shah, which was about 2 miles in length, cost only five lakhs of rupees, and that it was built "exceedingly strong." This amount would barely cover the cost of building, and leave no margin for the material.

from foreign coins and other objects likely to be found. Of these we have a foretaste in the *Mātri* statue I have referred to, and the two statutes of Yakkhas or genii found here, and now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. These statues of genii—and we have seen how Aśoka was popularly associated with the genii—have not yet received the attention they deserve. They date almost to Aśoka's time, as is known by the form of the letters inscribed on them, and are certainly amongst the oldest statues found in India. A very rough and most unfair figure of one of them is given as Plate II of Volume XV of the Archæological Survey of India Reports, yet even this figure conveys some sense of the dignified pose, the magnificent proportions of the shoulders and the idea of Intelligent Strength which it was the artist's object to pourtray, and which was realized in a way barely surpassed even in the best specimens of occidental art.[1] It is rather a commentary on 'Indian' art to find that its earliest efforts were the most successful.

The statues of the *genii.*

And, I must add, the unexcavated third statue of this 'find' which Dr. Tytler could not trace[2] is certainly not, as Sir A. Cunningham states, that hideous effigy in stone at the Agam Kua near Patna, which has nothing in common with these two statues. This third statue is one of those treasures yet remaining to be unearthed, and which cannot be far from Kumrāhār.

[1] Regarding these statues I find that Mr. Caddy has written: "It is remarkable in a country where the human form is perpetually before the eye either nude or in draperies which lend themselves to shape and continue with infinite variety the beautiful lines of the human figure, no one of its myriad art-workers have in succeeding centuries produced any conception of the might of the deltoid or the majesty of the shoulder-girdle except in these two instances. They impress one with the idea of enormous strength. There is that in the image which gives dignity and squarement without unnecessary detail which bestows grandeur"—*Indian Art Aspects* by A. E. Caddy.

[2] *Indian Museum Catalogue*, Archæol. Collection, Vol. I. 152.

17th April 1892.

APPENDIX ON

KING ŚAŚĀṄKA

WHO DEFACED THE STONE FOOT-PRINTS OF BUDDHA AT PĀṬALIPUTRA *CIRCA* 600 A.D.

AND ON HIS LOST KINGDOM OF

KĀRNA SUVARNA.

Śaśāṅka Raja of historic interest.

Saśāṅka Raja is a figure of considerable historic interest in the annals of Indian Buddhism from his active persecution of Buddhism in the provinces of Bengal and Bihár; but, being one of the Rajas of Bengal several centuries anterior to the Muhammadan invasion, he is altogether unknown to Bengal history, which is mainly dependent on Muhammadan writers for its earlier facts. His name, and what is more remarkable, the very name of his kingdom, have been alike forgotten. And the search for the site of his lost capital by St. Martin, Fergusson, Cunningham, and other archæologists has hitherto proved fruitless; and even the general position of his country has been a matter of much dispute. Recently I have been able to make local enquiries, which have elicited some tangible details of the position of Kārna Suvarna and seem to fix the site of its capital with tolerable certainty. And this enquiry brings into prominence several most interesting changes in the river system of Lower Bengal; amongst others, the formation of the dreaded 'James and Mary' sands in the Hooghly river.

His name and kingdom locally forgotten.

His lost kingdom and capital not hitherto found.

S'aśāṅka's history.

About 600 A.D., shortly before Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India, Saśāṅka Raja, 'the Brahmanical iconoclast,' invited to a conference and treacherously murdered the King of Kanouj, Rājya Vardhana II, who is described in an inscription[1] by his brother Harsha Vardhana, the last Hindu Emperor of India, as 'the most devout follower of Sugata.'[2] And during the interregnum Saśāṅka overran Bihár province, actively destroying Buddhist monuments and sacred 'traces'; and "overturned the law of Buddha—the members of the priesthood were dispersed and for many years driven away."[3]

His iconoclastic sacrilege.

Amongst other specified sacrilege Saśāṅka defaced the stone of Buddha's foot-prints at Pātaliputra and cut down the Bodhi-tree at Bodh-Gaya. Hiuen Tsiang, writing within about 30 years of the event, says:—"Saśāṅka Raja destroyed the convents

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[1] FLEET's *Corpus Inscrip. Ind.*, iii. p. 232.
[2] A title of Buddha.
[3] *Si-yu-ki* BEAL's Trans., I. 210—212; II. 42.

and cut down the Bodhi-tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugarcane, desiring to destroy it entirely and not leave a trace of it behind." Hiuen Tsiang then relates how the tree was miraculously restored after Saśāṅka's departure, and at his (the pilgrim's) visit the tree had attained "40 or 50 feet in height."[1] It is further noted that Saśāṅka ordered the great image of Buddha to be removed from the central shrine of the Bodh-Gaya temple and a *linga* placed there in its stead.

His coins, &c.

Evidence of Saśāṅka's victorious march through Bihár was found by Mr. Beglar[2] in the form of a rock-cut seal-matrix of Saśāṅka near Rhotas fort in Shahabad district. It bears the Sivaic bull symbol and the words *Sri mahā Samanta Saśāṅka devasya*—'Of the illustrious great warrior Saśāṅka deva.' It is figured by Mr. Fleet, who notes regarding it:—'The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the Saśāṅka, King of Kārna Suvarna,' of Hiuen Tsiang's record.[3] General Sir A. Cunningham also reports from Gaya and Jessore coins of Saśāṅka;[4] and the same authority notes that in the Jain books Saśāṅka is called Narendra Gupta.[5]

The location of his Kingdom.

The position of Saśāṅka's kingdom of Kārna Suvarna and its capital is well defined by Hiuen Tsiang. Incidentally he notes that the territory of the King of Kanouj, to whom Magadha seems at Saśāṅka's time to have been tributary, lay near 'the frontier' of Karna Suvarna. His more precise account is given from 'Tan-mo-li-ti,' which, from a careful study of the pilgrim's routes in Lower Bengal, I have not the least doubt is the *Tamralipti* of Hindu writers—the modern Tamlúk in Midnapore district, as identified by St. Martin, Cunningham, and others. Hiuen Tsiang says "going from this (Tan-mo-li-ti) north-west 700 *li* or so we come to the country[6]

Its name.

of Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Kārna Suvarna) [and in a note it is explained that the word means in Chinese Kin'rh or 'golden-"ear']. This kingdom is about 1,400 or 1,500 *li* in circuit; its capital is about 20 *li*. "It is thickly populated. The house-holders are very rich and in ease. The land

And description.

lies low and loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers valuable numerous and various. "The climate is agreeable, the manners of the people honest and amiable. They "love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness. There are ten "Sanghārāmas or so, with about 2,000 priests. * * * * * There are fifty Deva

Its Buddhist remains.

temples. The heretics are very numerous. * * * * * By the side of the capital is the Sanghārāma called Lot-to-"wei-chi (*Raktaviti*), and in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang it is explained that this word "means '*red mud*,' the halls of which are light and spacious and the storied towers "very lofty. * * * * By the side of the Sanghārāma and not far off is a stupa "which was built by Aśoka Raja. When Tathagatha was alive in the world he "preached here for seven days explaining (the law) and guiding (men). By the "side of it is a vihāra; here there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down "and walked. * * * * Going from this 700 *li* or so in a south-westerly direc-"tion we come to the country of U-cha."[7]

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1 *Op. cit.*, ii. 121.
2 *Arch. S. I. Rept.*, VII. 6.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 284.
4 *Arch. Surv. Rept.*, III. p. 138.
5 *Op. cit.*, IX. p. 157.
6 The distances thus given by Hiuen Tsiang are always those from capital to capital.
7 *Si-yu-ki*, II. p. 203.

Mr. Vivien de St. Martin[1] and General Cunningham,[2] taking the *li* at one-fifth and one-sixth of a mile, respectively, and measuring due north-west from Tamlúk as the Tan-mo-liti of Hiuen Tsiang, place Kārna Suvarna and its capital within the hilly districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum, although they find there no traces of the capital, and the location itself is widely at variance with Hiuen Tsiang's description, both physically and in respect to the people. Such a tract, instead of presenting land lying 'low' and of a rich loamy nature, it is mostly an undulating or hilly tract of poor lateritic soil and gravel. Neither could it have ever been 'thickly populated' or 'regularly cultivated' and 'producing abundance of flowers,' &c. Nor could the inhabitants be described as "amiable; they love learning exceedingly and apply themselves to it with earnestness." Nor would a subsequent journey to the south-west carry the pilgrim to the old capital of Orissa, as described in the text. It seems to me that in this case these two eminent expounders of Hiuen Tsiang's route have been misled by taking too literally the distance and direction as noted by the pilgrim. It must be remembered that the pilgrim was travelling without a compass over unmapped ground and tortuous roads, undemarcated by milestones, and dependent solely on his own general impression and the very vague reports of villagers regarding the distances and on the sun to time his movements. Any one who has made even a single day's journey along country roads in the delta under somewhat similar circumstances to the above can readily understand why in the descriptions of long journeys so conducted the distance and directions can only be taken in a very general way.

Previously attempted identifications.

Fergusson,[3] in placing the site of the capital at Nagar near Suri in Birbhum, and evidently a capital town about the Muhammadan period, has kept the general features of the country more in view; but even that tract is not sufficiently low-lying and alluvial and cultivated and populous to suit Hiuen Tsiang's description, and no corroborative details are forthcoming, and its distance does not at all fit in with the next stage of Hiuen Tsiang's pilgrimage.

The proposed identification with the fort of Kuru, near the village of Rangamati in Murshidabad district[4]—about 130 miles to the north-east of Tamlúk—is quite untenable; as it is so out of keeping with the pilgrim's text, and possesses nothing suggestive of the site, except the local name of Rangamati, and having proceeded so far northwards the subsequent journey of 700 *li* to the south-west could not carry the pilgrim to the frontier, much less to the capital of Orissa, his next stage. Nor can the proposal to locate it on the Suvarnarekha river[5] be seriously entertained.

The site which I propose to identify with the capital of Kārna Suvarna literally satisfies all the conditions of the pilgrim's text, except distance, as it lies as the crow flies about 70 miles to a little west of north from Tamlúk; while the pilgrim's record by road is 700 *li*, or about 116 miles to the north-west of 'Tam-li-ti.' Taking from Tamlúk the pilgrim's direction and distance literally, it lands us, as has been seen, in the lower Vindya hill tract; but by shortening the distance somewhat, we are carried up the alluvial portion of the Damuda valley to near Burdwan city. And that the capital of Kārna Suvarna must have been hereabouts is evident from the subsequent journey of the pilgrim for 700 *li* to the south-west, which carried him to

My identification.

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[1] *Memoires Contrees Occident*, II. p. 392.
[2] *Ancient Geography of India.*
[3] *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, VI. p. 247.
[4] LAYARD. *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Beng.* XXII. 281.
[5] LASSEN. *Ind Alt.* I. 186.

U-cha, the capital of Orissa, which is certainly the modern *Yā-ja-pur* or 'Jajpur.' From Tamlúk a journey of 700 *li* to the north-west, followed by a journey of 700 *li* to the south-west, could not have carried the pilgrim to the Orissan frontier; but a journey of 400 to 500 *li*, as the crow flies—and by road it must have been much longer—to the north-north-west, followed by a journey of 700 *li* south-west, carried him to the Orissan capital, and fully satisfies all the other conditions as described in the text.

Essential points in attempting deltaic identifications.

Moreover, in seeking for ancient city-sites in the Gangetic delta as described by ancient travellers, we must take into account the traditional capital of the people, and also allow for the two great modifying factors of (*a*) change in names from the Sanskritized classic form which Hiuen Tsiang habitually uses to the colloquial or ordinary 'corrupt' form; and (*b*) of the change in the river courses which is constantly going on, and which plays so important a part in changing the sites of cities in this great delta.

It is also found that the lower courses of most of the deltaic rivers are named after the chief towns or ports on their banks, and retain the name after these riparian towns and ports have been left far inland by the retirement of the coast to the sea. And such names tenaciously cling to the river long after the place whence they derive their name has lost its importance or even ceased to exist. For example, the Gaur nadi, which is now a small creek in the Upper Sundarbands in Barisál district. The Rupnarayan appears in the older maps as the 'Tomberlie' (*i.e.*, Tamralipti or Tamlúk) nadi. And to take a more modern instance, the lower part of the Bhagirathi is still called the 'Hooghly' *nadi*, although Hooghly has long ceased to be its port.

Details of identification.

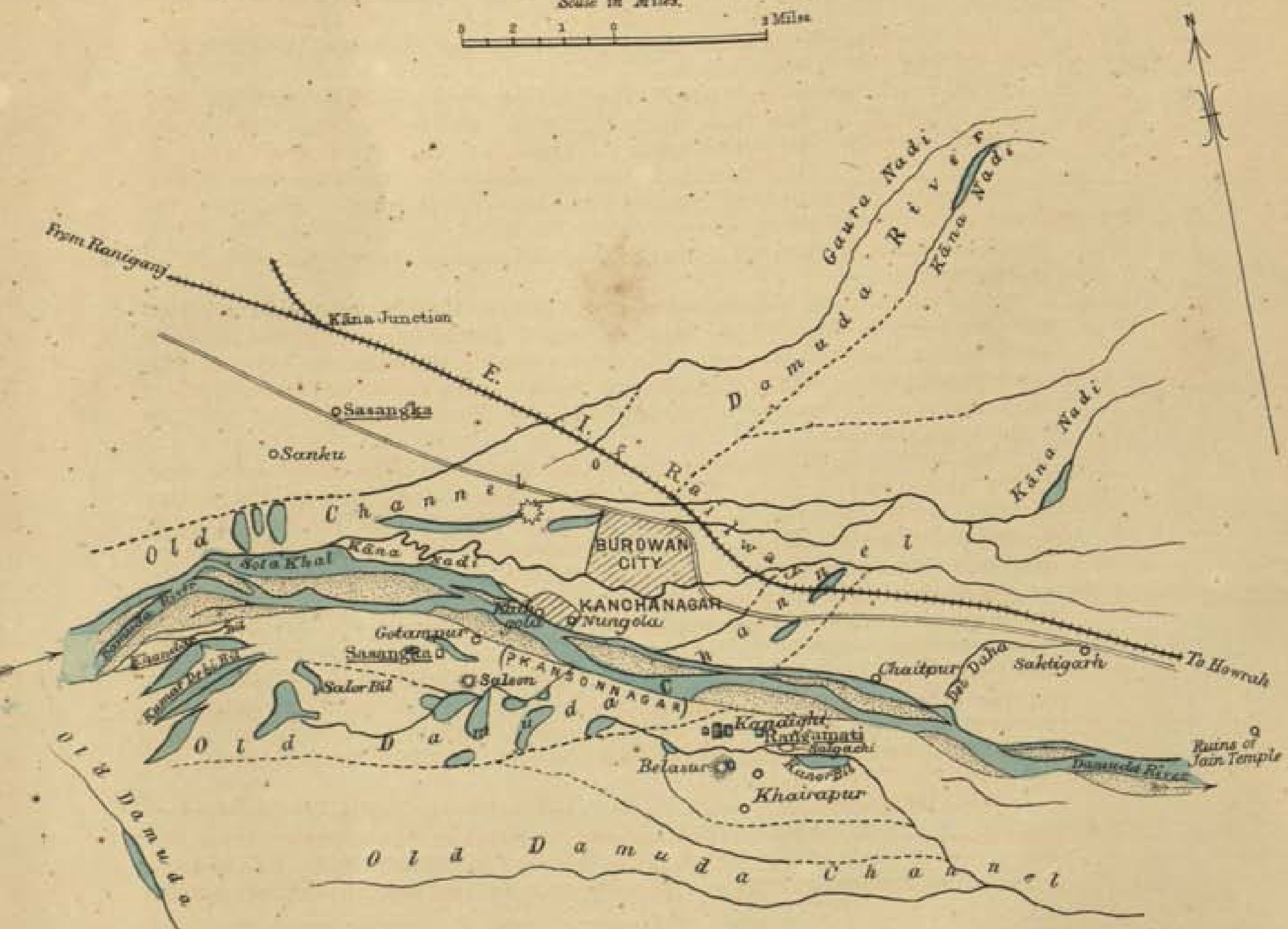
Now, keeping in view these indications, we find that about 400 *li* or so, in a *direct* line, about north-north-west from Tamlúk, which certainly is Hiuen Tsiang's *Tan-mo-li-ti*, brings us up the alluvial valley of the Damuda river. The Sanskrit name *Kārna Suvarna*, literally 'the Golden Ear,' becomes in the colloquial *Kān Sona*. And we find that the old Sanskritic name of the river Damuda—itself a Santali or Munda name—is the *Kān Sona* river. In the chart of the Hooghly river for 1755 the Damuda is still called Kān Sona, and Colonel Gastrell, in his Revenue Survey Report of Bankura district,[1] reproduces this chart, and clearly shows that the perilous 'James and Mary' sands owed their origin to the Damuda having deserted its Kān Sona course—which entered the Hooghly at an acute angle—for a more southerly one, which joined the Hooghly almost at right angles, and thus, damming up the Hooghly waters, induced the deposit of sand and silt in the lower reach of the Hooghly.

The 'Kan Sona' river—the name of the old Damuda.

This Kān Sona channel of the Damuda is now, in 1892, a small narrow silted-up creek or *khal* which debouches into the Hooghly about one mile above the village of Ulubaria in Howrah district, where the creek is now commonly called *Kārsura* or Kāl-suva, which seems to be a less prakritized form of the word 'Kārna Suvarna.' Following up this Kānsona creek, which is the old channel of the Damuda, it is found to pass very old village sites and to leave the present channel of the Damuda at the village of Salimabad, where it is called 'Kāna Damuda.' And some miles higher up are found two still older channels of the Damuda, also bearing the name of Kāna, and striking more directly eastwards

[1] Quoted in detail in *Statistical Account, Bengal*, district Bankura.

Map
ILLUSTRATING PROBABLE POSITION OF
THE CAPITAL OF KARNASUVARNA (KANSONA),
BY L. A. WADDELL,



Reg. No 238, Bengal, Fin —Oct. 92.—300.
Litho. S. I. O., Calcutta.

to join the Saraswati river, which seems formerly to have been the main channel of the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges previous to the formation of the Hooghly channel. This name of '*Kāna*' is explained by some of the literate Bengalis as being the Bengali or Sanskrit word *kāna*, meaning 'one-eyed' or 'perforated,' and which might be so extended as to include 'choked up' and 'blind.' But I have failed to find after special search that this term *kāna* is applied elsewhere to any old river beds. I can only find it applied to these old channels of the Damuda, and doubtfully to an old channel of the Adjai in Birbhum district, which also must be within the area of Kārna Suvarna. And we will see presently that a fine deep old tank at the site which seems to be that of the city of Kānsona is called *Kāna* dighi, which cannot possibly bear the signification of 'choked.' It therefore seems to me that this word *kāna* is a distinct survival of the name Kānsona, by which until lately its lower course was designated.

The apparent site of the capital of Kārna Suvarna.

Up the left bank of the Damuda river, not far above where the name Kānsona and Kāna cling to the old river bed, about 70 miles or so north-north-west of Tamlúk, is the old decayed town of Kanchannagar,[1] which seems to be the traditional capital of the country before the foundation of Burdwan or Bardhamāna. *Kanchan* is the literal equivalent of *Sona* or Suvarna; but for the following reasons I am of opinion that Kanchannagar is a corruption of Kān-son-nagar, or 'the city of Kānson' or Kārna Suvarna:—

1st.—There is no other site except the modern Kanchannagar and a village near the opposite bank of the Damuda named Kanjannagar along the course of the Kānsona khal and its upper continuation in the Damuda, that I can find, after diligent search, which could account for the name of the khal, and the other old courses of the Damuda which lead to this site from the old Saraswati are also called the Kāna river.

2nd.—Although the ancient name of this country, with the modern Burdwan as its centre, was certainly Kānsona, the residents have now no knowledge whatever of the existence of such a territorial name. And the corruption of the original name of Kānsona into Kānchan and Kānjan was easy and probable, in order to obtain a more reasonable meaning of the word Kānson.

3rd.—Kānson*nagar* means 'the capital of the Kānson country' in the same way as Champa*nagar* is 'the capital of the Champa country.' And it further resembles Champanagar in that as Champanagar, owing to the erosion of the Ganges, was gradually cut away in part and the modern town of Bhágalpur founded on higher ground in its immediate neighbourhood, so has 'Kanchannagar' been cut away and the modern city of Burdwan founded in its immediate neighbourhood, so that Kanchannagar is now a suburb of Burdwan lying between the latter town and the Damuda river.

The antiquity of this site.

4th.—'Kanchannagar' seems to be the traditional capital of the country anterior to Burdwan,[2] and traces of its former fame still exist. A religious *mela* for the whole district is held twice a year at its two ghats. It has given its name to, and was the original seat of,

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[1] 23° 14′ 10″ N. lat., and 87° 53′ 52″ E. long.

[2] In a current Burdwan ballad brought to my notice by Dr. G. N. Mitra, a comparatively modern Raja is credited with 'peopling' or founding (*basale*) Kanchannagar. This may, however, have been a re-occupation of the deserted site. The ballad runs:—

"Kirti Chandra Moharaja with the clash of swords went to conquer Chandrakona (in Midnapore district). Elephants were weeping in their stalls, and the horses did not obtain drink. And the Queens of Raja Kirti Chandra were weeping in stating his deeds. At his desire the Raja 'situated' (*basale*) Kanchannagar. Oh! religious King! you kept up your name as Raja by giving the tank (dighi) to Jageshwar (Siva)."

manufacture of the celebrated 'Kanchan thal' or brazen plate so highly prized all over Bengal, and still most extensively made at 'Kanchannagar.' A late Raja of Burdwan endeavoured to withdraw this industry to Burdwan, and took most of the brass workers to a site near his palace called Nutonganj, on the outskirts of Burdwan; but the Kanchannagar industry still survived. And in proof of its excellence it may be noted that the Government of India has given the contract for making 'service' knives and scissors to one of the Kanchannagar artisans.[1] It was also famed for its coarse cloths, especially 'the Kanchannagar *dhoti*.' And so tenaciously do the people cling to this old site that although it is at all times more unhealthy than Burdwan city, and in the Burdwan-fever epidemic half the people died, still the surviving inhabitants and their relatives returned to their old haunts, forsaking healthier sites.

It satisfies Hiuen Tsiang's description.

And the location of the capital hereabouts is supported by the general situation and the existence of actual remains in keeping with the detailed description by Hiuen Tsiang. This situation for the capital of Kārna Suvarna strictly fulfils all the physical conditions of Hiuen Tsiang's description. The country is thickly populated and lies low, so that it has to be protected by embankments from the Damuda floods. The land is rich and loamy and produces abundance. And the people are for Bengal of a remarkably good Aryan type and colour. But this tract has been most extensively ploughed up by changes in the course of the Damuda—*vide* attached map, plate III—and the greater part of the old site seems to have been cut away by the river, so that now only the north-east corner remains as Kanchannagar and the other existing remains are on the west bank of the Damuda—*vide* map; but what does remain at Kanchannagar is all built of brick, and on mounds of debris, showing the site to be very old. And it retains grand names, *e.g.*, *Nungola* or the salt-market, *Kath-gola* or the wood stores, &c.

Local survival of Śaśāṅka's name.

Śaśāṅka's name, it has been remarked, is a very rare one, the only instance recorded of its survival in Bengal being as a tank name at Bogra;[2] but within 1¼ miles and 5 miles respectively of Kanchannagar I find two villages named Śaśāṅka, one to the west and near a village called "Kanjannagar" and the other to the north-west of the town, and both are in the relation of suburbs to this site—one on either side, but I could not find time to visit them. It is also remarkable that the term *Sona* occurs very frequently as a village name hereabouts.

Its Buddhist and other remains.

I also find in keeping with Hiuen Tsiang's description that "*by the side of*" *Kanchannagar, viz., about two miles south-west, is a portion of land called Rangamati or 'red earth' with numerous mounds of brick debris and distinct Buddhist remains.* These remains include a small votive chaitya and the well-known form of Buddha's image as a prince agoing to hunt. Such images as these would naturally be spared by Śaśāṅga as being not strongly suggestive of Buddhism. These images were found in a tank bordering a stupa-like mound at the village of Belasur—*vide* map. And the mounds of brick ruins are attributed by the villagers to *Bel-Asur*; and *Asur* is a common opprobrious Hindu term for Buddha, viz., 'The Gaya-*Asur*,' &c.

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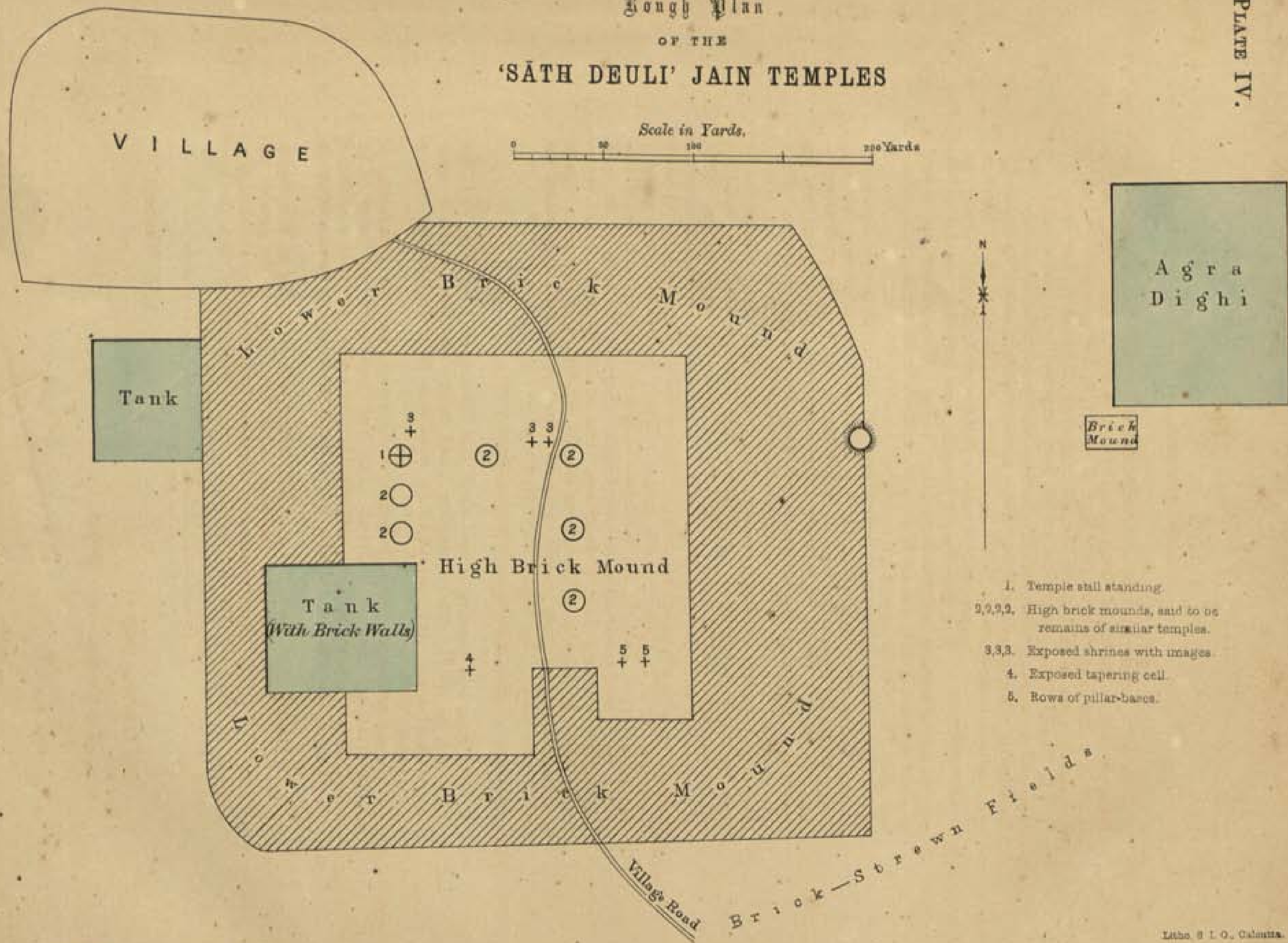
[1] The 1871 *census* for Burdwan district shows artisans to be very numerous, affording some evidence of the inhabitants still being 'rich and in ease,' viz., *adult males*—

Braziers ...	... 2,321	Founders ...	... 14
Blacksmiths	... 3,586	Ornament makers	... 3,767

[2] *Arch. S. I. Rept.*, XV. 102.

PLATE IV.

Rough Plan
OF THE
'SĀTH DEULI' JAIN TEMPLES



Reg No 336, Bengal, Fin —Oct. 93—300.
Litho. S. I. O., Calcutta.

The old brick mounds at the adjoining villages of Sālgacha, Khairapur, and Bangacha are evidently of great antiquity and deserving excavation. At the latter is a fine deep Hindu 'tank' called *Kān-dighi* and a smaller one in the neighbourhood called *Kān*-pukur, evidently survivals of the name Kān Sona.

As the Burdwan district has not yet been explored by an archæologist, it is impossible to say what other Buddhist remains may be extant on the surface. The surrounding villages, especially the villages named Saśāngka, should be explored.

Jain remains.

I found, however, in the "Sāth Deula" ruins, about 12 miles east of Kanchannagar and 2 miles south-west from Memari railway station, near the old Damuda, most extensive remains of 'the very numerous heretics' referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. These ruins cover an area of about a square ¼ mile, and are of the contour shown in the accompanying plan—*vide* plate IV. On the upper high mound still stands at the point marked No. 1 in plan a *deul* or temple of the early Indian type like the Konch temple figured by General Cunningham[1] and having, like it, a corbellated doorway facing eastward. It is more highly ornamented than the Konch temple, and it is in good preservation. It projects about 80 feet above the general level of the ruins, and its base is about 100 feet in circumference, and the interior chamber is square, with a side of about 12½ feet. The existing series of mounds, viz., 2, 2, 2, &c., in map, confirm the popular tradition expressed in the name '*Sath deul*,' that formerly there were seven such temples. And around these seem to have been buildings for the accommodation of monks. There are also numerous image-shrines. Some of these are unroofed at the sites marked Nos. 3 and 4 on plan, and being exposed from above, having been buried amid the debris of the other buildings, they present the appearance of crypts from which images project. And these images are of a decided Jain type. Two of these, which have lately been fully excavated by the landowner, are in good preservation, save some slight injury by the tools of the excavators, and represent Jain Tīrthankaras. One in chloritic sandstone is a sitting image, about ⅓rd life-size, of Chandraprabha, the 8th Jina, with his moon *chinha*, and bearing an inscription in early mediæval characters, but badly mutilated at the recent excavation. The inscription seems to read:—

Srī tirthabhaktayarasamapuderinarvvi * *

The other is a standing image, about half life-size, of Neminātha, the 22nd Jina, with his *Sankha* symbol, standing naked under a tree, like the *Anona reticulata* (custard apple), and surrounded by what seem to be the planetary figures (*navagraha*).

Several sculptured stones project from the ruins, and the foundations of all the buildings seem to be intact. The large tank to the north-east of the ruins is called Āgra-dighi. This may possibly refer to the *Agar*-wala, a section of the Jains. These ruins and images are not being worshipped by Jains, nor by the Hindus.

Extent of the kingdom.

The kingdom of *Kārna Suvarna* (Kān Sona), with its capital at Kān Sonnagar near Burdwan, would thus comprise the greater part of the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly, the Bishenpur pargana of Bankura, the south-western part of Murshidabad, and the lower part of Birbhum where it adjoined the principality of Kānkjol.

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[1] *Arch. S. Ind. Rept.*, XVI. pl. XVII.

L. A. WADDELL.

The 27*th May* 1892.

W. J.—Reg. No. 2522J—300—22-10-92.